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GANDHIAN ECONOMIC THOUGHT

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By

J. C. KUMARAPPA

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EDITOR'S PREFACE

The object of this series is to present in simple terms easy for the layman to understand ideas and facts relating to Indian economic problems so that the average citizen may be able to take active interest in economic policy and in measures which affect economic life in the country.

It is obvious that as in other spheres, Gandhiji's ideas have a marked influence in the economic sphere also. This is so not only because of the general influence of Gandhiji's ideas on the masses of the people, but also because the leaders of the Congress who are now in power have imbibed his teachings, and are naturally trying to put the same into practice as far as possible.

It is true that we do not have any definite scheme of economic thought evolved by Gandhiji himself, which can be described as Gandhian Economic Thought. His economic ideas are part of his general philosophy of life; they are reflected in his writings and speeches, mixed up with other related topics; they have to be discerned more in his actions, which must be viewed in their entirety not merely in an isolated way. In other words, one has to interpret Gandhiji's economic ideas and build up what may be described as Gandhian Economic Thought from what he did and said in this connection. It should not be difficult for several eminent persons in and out of the Congress organisation, who came in intimate touch with him and were in a position to imbibe his ideas firsthand, to help in disentangling Gandhiji's economic thought so that it may help the future generation to understand it better.

Shri J. C. Kumarappa is well-known as one of the trusted disciples of Gandhiji who was asked to

carry out his economic ideas into practice and in doing so had obvious opportunities of understanding firsthand Gandhiji's point of view. It is fortunate, therefore, that Shri Kumarappa has been good enough to agree to write this book, in which he has attempted to build up the Gandhian Economic Thought in simple, but effective language. As he rightly points out, there is no such thing as the principles of economics of Gandhiji. According to him two life principles governed all Gandhiji's economic, social, political and other considerations, viz. Truth and Non-violence. It is in the application of these criteria that the Gandhian Economic Thought has been built up. This interesting exposition of Gandhiji's economic ideas by Shri Kumarappa will, I trust, give an impetus to other persons, who had opportunities to come in contact with Gandhiji to throw further light on the same, and help by making suggestions to evolve Gandhian Economic Theory. While such a development may take its own course, enough has been said in this small book to help in understanding more clearly some of the ideas which underlie the official policy of the Congress organisation, which directly or indirectly affects the policy of the Government of India, and also of the State Governments.

It is well-known that in recent times we in this country are presented with peculiar conflicts of opinion, methods and actions in the economic sphere, the real nature of which it is not always easy to grasp. On the one hand, we have had both in theory and practice considerable influence of western economic thought. On the other hand Gandhiji's economic ideas which are based on entirely different considerations are also influencing official policies in many ways. Partly due to the existing state of affairs in the country which we inherited from the British, and partly due to rapidly changing events both at home and abroad in recent times, we must realise that

economic problems present complex and difficult issues.

So far as economic development is concerned, we are again considerably influenced by western ideas and methods as well as Gandhiji's economic ideas which have become a part of the religion of those in power. Because of the absence of any synthesis between these points of view, we find in some cases curious situations because of the imposition of one set of ideas on another without any common link. The country will have to choose, and sooner the choice is made the better, between one or the other economic policy viz. the conception of the Welfare State as developed in the west, and the conception of economic life as reflected in Gandhiji's ideas. It is possible that to some extent the former can be modified by the influence of the latter. But it is obvious that the approaches of the two are entirely different and cannot be easily reconciled. We may not agree with all that the author says ; in fact, there are many statements from which we may differ ; what is of importance, however, is how far and in what manner these ideas can be applied to our existing problems and in what way they affect the policy of the present Government. It is hoped that in the better understanding of the climate of economic opinion in the country the effort made by Dr. Kumarappa will be of considerable help.

C. N. VAKIL

School of Economics and Sociology,
University of Bombay,
31st March 1951

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CHAPTER I.

PRINCIPLES UNDERLYING GANDHIAN ECONOMY

There is no such thing as the principles of Economics of Gandhiji. With Gandhiji economics is a part of a way of life. There are no governing principles as are applied in the case of ordinary laws that have been enunciated in text books on Economics. Only two life principles govern all Gandhiji's economic, social, political and other considerations, viz. Truth and Non-violence. Anything that cannot be satisfactorily tested on these touchstones, as it were, cannot be regarded as Gandhian. If a scheme of things leads to violence or necessitates untruth, then we may regard that as non-Gandhian.

Let us take these two principles and apply them in every walk of life and see where truth exists, where non-violence could be generated. If at any time these ends cannot be achieved, such courses must be abandoned.

First, we shall consider the kinds of motives, after that the relationship between the members of the human family, and lastly, the various types of natural resources. We shall then see how these things have to be correlated in our daily life.

MOTIVES

If we take the human family, we may divide it into five different groups according to our approach. We can trace them in the ordinary life of even animals. For instance, take one that is most violent and cruel, viz., tiger. How does it go about its

economic life? How does the tiger find its food? It gets its food by killing animals. The tiger does not create, does not contribute anything towards production but it consumes without producing. Here is consumption without production. Where does it live? It lives in caves, in natural holes and in rocks. The tiger is parasitic as far as its food is concerned. The tiger's method of obtaining shelter is predatory.

Take the monkey. How does it get its food? By picking up fruits and leaves here and there. It gets it by predation. The monkey does not kill the source of its food but takes what is available. These are two methods exemplified by the case of the tiger, and the monkey respectively. There is consumption without production. Neither of them produces anything and they merely live on the stock that is readily available. In the final analysis, they are both equal but there is a difference when it comes to the question of the amount of violence involved. The tiger is much more violent than the monkey. The monkey does not destroy the source from where its food comes. The first one is parasitic and the second one is predatory. Both are self-centred. They have no sense of duty. They think only in terms of their hunger-selfishness and self-centredness based on rights.

Then we come to the third position, where there is a balancing of rights with duties. That is what may be called the "Enterprising stage". You produce and you consume. Look at the abode of the little birds in the house. They pick up with their bills straw, sticks, cotton, etc., and build their nests. The bird builds its own nest, unlike the tiger which lives in the caves. It builds its nest where cats cannot get at it, and it enjoys the shelter that it has produced with great effort and forethought. Here is production and consumption. It exercises the right of private property, for when some other bird comes,

it will peck at it and drive it away. Rights and duties are mixed up in it.

We have the fourth stage, the gregarious stage is that of the bee. When a bee collects honey, what does it do? It puts it in the hive. It does not say that a particular single hole in the comb is its own. It collects for the benefit of the whole colony. A bee, when it brings honey, puts it in the honey comb and leaves it to be used by the other bees also. It does not produce for its own personal consumption but for general consumption. All the bees live together as one family. There is an excess of a sense of duty as against a feeling of right. Production is greater than consumption and the surplus is meant for others.

We come to the fifth stage. We mentioned the bird in its nest in the third stage. Supposing it has produced a baby. In the morning it goes out, picks up whatever food such as grains, is to be found and feeds its young with it. It does not say that it has the right to swallow what it has found. It takes it to the little baby bird and feeds it. Does it think that when the little one grows up, it would feed the mother when old? Nothing of the sort. It gives without a thought of any return. It is wholly motivated by a sense of duty. This is what may be called Mother Economy or Service Economy.

These are the five types under which we may develop the idea of economic activities, namely, parasitic, predatory, enterprising, gregarious and the service stages. The principles connected with each one of them will differ. In the parasitic stage, it is all self-centred and right centred, and consumption takes place without production. In the second stage it is the same but not so violent. In the third stage there is production and consumption. In the fourth stage, the gregarious stage, production exceeds consumption. In the fifth stage it is all service with no thought of any reward.

In the human family we find the same methods of production and consumption. Thieves and robbers are parasites of society, because they kill men and obtain what they want for themselves without working to produce wealth. A child is walking in the street, and a man cuts off its head and runs away with its jewels. Such are parasites of society.

Predatory—Suppose you are going to buy a railway ticket. You are standing in a *queue*. Some body comes at the back and while you are looking at the booking office, he slowly takes your purse from your pocket and goes away. His act is predatory. He is very anxious that even his touch should not be noticed. A pick-pocket is a very good example of one in the predatory stage.

Cultivators are very good instances of those in the enterprising stage. They plough the land, sow the seeds, work hard and enjoy the results of their labour. It is in the agricultural stage that human beings came out of the animal kingdom. They realise their duties and rights in this stage and both are balanced. This we may call the dawn of civilisation. The other two are the jungle stages. With the enterprising stage we come into civilisation.

The Hindu Joint family system affords an instance of gregarious economy. The brother works. not for himself, but for the whole family. The individual works and he does not think that the wealth created belongs to him personally because he himself has laboured. There is a sense of oneness and a sense of working for a group.

Service Economy—A mother is the best instance of this. The mother works for the child. She does not expect any return. Service is its own reward.

Similarly we may find these divisions in group life, in Government, in Nations, etc.

Group life based on destruction of life or the suppression of the rights of other people—which Imperialism is, is jungle economy. By this other countries are subjugated and the mighty get something out of the weak. It is a parasite economy.

(1) India had been subjected politically to Great Britain. This is an illustration of parasite economy.

(2) Economic subjugation of others—Financial penetration of America is a good instance of predatory economy.

(3) Enterprise—The agricultural economy which had been practised in our country in olden days is an instance of the enterprising economy. It is a self-sufficient economy.

(4) Gregarious economy—Soviet Russia and Nazi Germany may come under this category to a large extent.

(5) We do not have in history an instance of a stage of Service Economy, but Gandhiji was working towards that stage.

These five stages can be found in our individual daily action also. It is easy to laugh at others, but when we come to think of ourselves, we are sometimes tigers, sometimes monkeys, sometimes this and sometimes that. When we eat untidily, and throw out all sorts of things, we belong to the tiger stage. We should ask each night as to how many times during the day we have been a tiger, etc., and if there is a growing tendency towards the mother economy, we are moving towards civilisation. Otherwise, we are going towards the jungle stage.

The analysis given is nothing very novel, because it is found in the Hindu order of society. You have the Mlechchas, Sudras ,Vaisyas, Kshatriyas, and Brahmins. If your desire is to help your fellowmen,

even though you may be a Mlechha by birth, you belong to the Brahmin group. If you are born a Brahmin and are doing Government service, for the fat salary you get you are in effect a Mlechcha. These Mlechchas are at the tiger stage. The Sudras are predatory. The Vaisyas, who deal justly, belong to the enterprising stage. The vaisya, who gives wrong weights and measures, belongs to the tiger economy. The millowners belong to the tiger economy. If we divide our society into these five broad stages, based on actions and not birth, it is possible for the Mlechcha to be a Brahmin in the service of his fellowmen. Gandhiji's plan was to develop human beings step by step from the Mlechcha plane onwards to the Brahmin stage. The upward progress will be according to one's moral and physical development. That is the purpose of all education. At the time when rights disappear and duties take their place, we reach the Brahmin or Service economy.

NATURAL RESOURCES

We then come to the question of the untilisation of Natural Resources. In the case of the use of these resources, again, as we move towards service economy from parasitic economy the measure of violence will steadily decrease. That is how non-violence could be promoted.

We may divide natural resources into two classes —one, which is never ending, like the flow of water in a river. When a bucket of water is taken out from a river will the level of the river go down? Considered mathematically and by absolute standards the level does go down, but generally speaking the answer is No. Some more water comes to fill the depression created. When a little water is drunk out of a glass of water, the level will go down. Why? In the first case, the supply is relatively unlimited, and in the second case the supply is limited. These

may be termed Current Economy and Reservoir Economy respectively.

The whole Gandhian Economy can now be gauged according to the possibilities of violence or non-violence that may be introduced by resorting to Reservoir or Current Economy in our activities.

When goods are in short supply the competition for its possession will lead to violence. Hence if our economic organisation is such that more reliance is placed on resources of reservoir economy, there will be more violence. Iron is in limited quantity. It comes under our reservoir economy. If we desire to promote non-violence in society, more percentage of wood, which belongs to current economy, must be used and less of iron. Petrol falls into our reservoir economy. As it becomes less and less, its use leads to conflict. The increasing violence in our society today is due to the nations running into reservoir economy abandoning current economy. As petrol so also coal, is of the reservoir economy. Horse, bullock and cow belong to current economy. When England was on the Horse Economy, they ploughed with horses, they transported by the use of horses. Violence was much less in England then. Before the Industrial Revolution set in, they used coal only for cooking purposes. With the advent of steam power coal became the pivot of the economy of England, which passed then from Current Economy to Reservoir Economy. Violence in England has been increasing for the last 150 years.

In India the cow has been considered a sacred animal, because it is the centre of our economy. It has been therefore glorified into a sacred animal. Tractor ploughing is reservoir economy. It is made of iron and steel and petrol or crude oil is needed to ply it. The instrument we use in producing goods will ultimately lead to violence or non-violence according to the extent to which we utilise reservoir or current economy.

The Charkha or the spinning wheel belongs to the current economy; while the textile mills belong to the reservoir economy.

Thermal electricity is altogether reservoir economy. Hydro-electricity is largely reservoir economy, only the power of turning the wheel is water. The bulk of the expenditure on the hydro-electric schemes is in the generating equipment which is therefore mainly of reservoir economy. Ultimately, therefore, by and large, the electric group may be classified as belonging to reservoir economy.

A mud-hut with thatches for the roof belongs to current economy. Buildings of cement and concrete belong to the reservoir economy. Current economy is permanent because it does not lead to competition which will result in violence and destruction, while reservoir economy is not permanent.

The common plough is of current economy. There is no doubt a little iron in it. We can use iron also but it should be done in the proportion in which iron is found in nature. In the mud-huts, we may have iron nails. Our contention is only that where there is an over-whelming element of reservoir economy, to that extent violence in our society will be great.

The more we base our order on the current economy, the less will be the violence. The greater will be the violence when we base our economy on reservoir economy.

PRODUCT

More and more things are produced to supply our primary needs, less and less will be the violence. The more we produce luxuries, the greater will be the violence that is generated. If you starve people and try to produce luxury articles, it will lead to violence. Production of a luxury like tobacco at the cost of a primary need like cereals, will weigh the scales to-

wards violence. The complexion of the economic organisation will indicate generally, whether that organisation will generate violence or will bring about peace and prosperity to the people. We want to see the principles which will guide us towards the realisation of Non-violence and Truth (the moral considerations we have taken for granted in the Gandhian Economy) steadily pursued and adopted. Less of luxuries and more of primary needs would mean more chances of non-violence. If we want to infuse non-violence and truth into our society, we have got to remember these principles and organise accordingly.

METHODS OF PRODUCTION

There are two different methods of producing articles. We can produce them in either one of those two methods. According to the method we choose, the principles used will be different. We shall consider production first and consumption later. Supposing the mother is making something for her children. How does she go about it? What are her objectives and how does her method differ from any other way of preparing it? Assume that she wants to prepare *halwa*. How will she do it? The mother who understands what she is doing, will probably select the wheat and grind it herself to the necessary fineness and keep the *atta* whole, without polishing it and taking out of it any of the nutritive elements contained in it. She will, in other words, preserve all that there is in that wheat. Then if she has a cow of her own, she will churn the curd produced out of the milk and prepare her own butter and ghee. Grinding the wheat is very difficult. Preparing ghee is troublesome. Why does she not purchase Vanaspati or cheap ghee in the market? She is willing to take all this trouble because her objective is the nutrition of her children. She is intensely interested in the welfare of her children. She considers

any amount of labour which she takes fully compensated when she finds that her children get the benefit of it all. It is out of a sense of duty and affection that she does all this. If she is an intelligent woman, she will study dietetics and find out how these things should be prepared without destroying the food values in the constituents. She has the satisfaction that the children have had the best of what she can afford to give. This is production for use.

Halwa is also prepared by others; the mother has not got the monopoly. The Confectioner too engages himself in this work. What is his objective? His objective is no doubt to produce something; but his main objective is not the production of those articles, but to transfer the money that the customer has got into his own pocket, and seeks the easiest method by which he could effect that transfer. For that he will do all sorts of things. The lesser the out-going the better it is for him. He finds out where he can get cheap wheat, perhaps worm-eaten wheat, mill-ground at the cheapest rate; where he can get the cheapest kind of oil or so-called ghee or some adulterated stuff. If the *halwa* does not smell well, he sprinkles some rose water and adds some colouring matter so that it is made to look attractive. All other smells disappear, as it were, in the over-whelming odour that comes from the stuff he puts in it. One who eats that *halwa* will suffer from diarrhoea. The Confectioner does not bother about it. The doctor will perhaps have a share of the customer's money too. This is what is called industry or production for exchange.

Naturally, work does not go without a reaction on the producer and his personality. In so far as one developes, one is developing by one's own actions. By turning on the radio one will not learn music. One has got to sit up and practise on the instruments until one's neighbours get tired? The muscles of the fingers and the nerves of the ears and eyes should

be co-ordinated. It is this practice that creates and develops a musician and not merely listening to a radio.

Every action has its own reaction, and these two methods of preparing *halwa* have their reaction. What is its reaction on the mother? Her intense study of dietetics will give her a better understanding of the body and its requirements and she does this for the love of her children and that makes her a better woman.

The Confectioner wants to give as little as he could and take as much as possible. This is in other words robbery. The larger the margin of profit one is able to make, the more successful one is considered as a businessman or as an industrialist. This carried to the logical extreme may lead to killing a man and taking away the money he has and will bring a cent per cent return. This can very well be done. This leads to gangsterism as a profession. This is the mentality that is developed by the Confectioner preparing *halwa*. He develops greed and irresponsibility. The reaction is thus one of creating parasites on society who indulge in robbing one another. When this is done on a national scale, we produce a world war. The Mithaiwala* economics creates false standards and violence, while the mother's method of production develops her love and truthfulness, but entails hard work.

An industrialist produces for exchange but the mother produces for home consumption. Mother's work is based on the self-sufficient economy but when we work on an exchange economy, we are apt to act like the Confectioner and finally end up as gangsters.

EXCHANGE AND TRADE

When goods that are in short supply enter the general market there is likely to be dissatisfaction

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* Confectioner.

which will lead finally to violence. True trade can only take place in surpluses.

Supposing there are about half a dozen *laddus** and we give them to a boy. He goes on eating one after another. He gets a certain amount of satisfaction when he eats the first, and then the second, then the third and by the time he comes to take the fourth one, he feels a minus value. After that he is thirsty. At this stage another boy appears with a glass of water. There are one or two more *laddus* left and the first boy, whose appetite for *laddus* is satisted, does not know how to dispose of these. He says to the other boy. "Give me some water and I will give you *laddus*". If they then exchange both will profit. The thirsty boy gets the water and the hungry one gets the *laddus*. This is an example of exchange in surpluses which is mutually beneficial. For human satisfaction must be mutual to be real.

On the other hand, if there is one pot of water and if all people want to drink, it will not be sufficient and there will be a fight for it; and in the scramble all the water may be spilt over and none will be satisfied.

Money or Barter. From time immemorial tokens have been used in exchanging commodities. But now, with an immense increase in wants, money is being used to conceal values. It does not report true human values. If we give twelve annas for a seer of milk there is no guarantee that the seller will be able to get an equivalent of one seer of milk in nutrition. He may be tempted to give his children tea instead. He may deprive the calf of its due share of its mother's milk and sell all he gets without nourishing his own children. For this state of affairs a high price in money is often responsible. It is an inducement to part with a more valuable article for a less or even a harmful substitute. Hence money deceives and creates violence.

* Sweet balls.

It is through the inducement of money that land is drawn away from food articles into cultivating commercially profitable crops like tobacco. The common people are not conscious of the damage done through the medium of money.

Even trade is directed to luxuries from providing the prime necessities of man through the use of money. Rich people can afford to spend money freely and so the merchants and manufacturers organise to cater to their demands rather than supply the needs of the poor, as the latter business has little chance of profit in it. Rice cultivation will barely meet the cost of production while toilet soap manufacture will yield attractive dividends. From human standards this is an anti-social direction of economic activity made possible by the agency of money. These and such evils are both violent and dishonest. Barter or exchange in commodities will minimise such danger to a great extent.

CO-OPERATION

Here we do not refer to the legal organisation of co-operation but to human relationship. Co-operation between people makes for mutual wellbeing. Every member of society depends for his own happiness on the wellbeing of every other. If a potter makes pots and the shoemaker uses aluminium vessels where will the potter get his custom to enable him to buy the shoes made by his fellow villager; the shoemaker? The potter in his turn may, if he can afford it, patronise machine-made shoes. After a while both the artisans will become extinct. Our course of daily routine must be calculated to bring about mutual good. Such co-operation alone will save our villagers from economic distress.

Economic co-operation weaves the village into a pattern which builds up unity. Without this organic unity community life will disintegrate, creating divi-

sions and dissensions as we find them to-day. Such scattered communities invite outsiders to exploit the situation. To work towards such unity we need self-discipline and self-control. If a village uses articles imported from America, the warp is in the village but the woof is in the U. S. A. This cannot form a pattern calculated to protect the village which will be destined to form part of economic America ultimately. No army, navy or air force can prevent this happening. A proper economic co-operative unity is the core of non-violent defence against foreign aggression. It will alone supply the cohesive force to bring solidarity to a nation and thus contribute towards world peace. This is the basic idea underlying self-sufficiency programme.

STANDARD OF LIVING

For the reasons already discussed it becomes imperative that the daily life of the people should be so regulated as to enable them to express their personality. What we eat, wherewith we are clothed and what manner of lives we lead, all have a bearing, not only on our own lives, but also, on the future of mankind. Just as each person expresses himself through the scale of values he uses so also his manner of living will express his personality. To do this there should be norms for all people to adhere to, and, these norms or standards must be arrived at from purely objective considerations calculated to afford every person that opportunity in full measure that is needed to develop all his faculties and thereby his personality. The suggested norm of standard should relate not only to bodily and material needs but also to all those innumerable items that go to enrich and ennoble life and raise it above the level of mere existence. Of course, it will naturally deal with food that is required to maintain a level of human performance with adequate medical aid, with clothing that will not only cover nakedness but will

also afford room for an expression of art and beauty, with education which will widen and brighten life while developing the inherent faculties with congenial work that will open up opportunities for the creative propensities of man and with all such other accessory facilities that will help in the progress both of the individual and the group.

Taking the occasion of dining, whether the meal is taken in Western style or in Indian style there is little difference nutritively. The Indian method of eating has advantages of cheapness combined with cleanliness and affords free scope for one's ideas of art in serving. What is more colourful than a meal served on a green fresh leaf? The creamy rice or chapatties with yellow dhal, white dahi, red chutneys, brown pickles, multicoloured salad of fresh vegetables, red tomatoes, etc., make a pleasing sight to start with; when the meal is over and the leaves have been removed only the floor remains to be washed out. The diners themselves, who eat with their fingers, invariably wash their teeth and rinse their mouths also after meals, which is a most desirable and hygeinic habit. But those who use forks and spoons have abandoned this wholesome custom. The farthest they may go in this direction is to dip their finger tips daintily in a finger bowl of water and after moistening their lips wipe them off with a napkin! Wherein lies the superiority or higher quality of the most complicated Western style? The complex manner of life increases expense without any corresponding benefit in cleanliness or art. Therefore, the distinction is more accurately made by calling the Western method "complex" and ours "simple", rather than "high" and "low" respectively.

In America, homelife is being rapidly broken up by false ideas of living being disseminated. A couple may live in a flat of one or two rooms with "labour saving devices". The husband will go to work in the morning and so will the wife. Each will have a

snack breakfast on the way in some cafeteria, and perhaps, lunch at a factory refreshment bar or grill, and the two will meet in the evening and have their supper in a restaurant and, if their combined income is big enough to sport a car, will go for a drive and visit a cinema and return to their rooms to listen in to the radio. There is no house-keeping, cooking or other attributes of the home. They will not care to have the bother of having children nor can their "high" standard of living allow of it. These are they who are slaving away for the manufacturers who set the "high" standard so as to have "hands" readily available for the factories.

The accepted standard of living, besides providing the opportunity for the development of one's faculties and laying out the method of expressing one's personality, should also form a link between the various members of society whereby the better equipped help the less fortunately placed ones.

In such a manner, everyone of our requirements should be so linked up with local production and the life of the people around us as to form a solid well-knit economy. Only then will it lead to permanence, as it will promote healthy growth without destruction by violence.

Frequently, the standard of life is described in terms of money and materials without any reference to the lives of those around us. Such standards are artificial and so are unstable and being superimposed and superficial cannot be permanent having no root in the very life of the people.

If we increase productivity of the masses and direct consumption, so as to afford a ready local market, the standard of living of the people will automatically rise. Such a natural formation of a standard will proclaim the culture and genius of the people, and will be permanent being rooted in the life of the people.

CHAPTER II.

AGRARIAN ECONOMY AND RURAL RECONSTRUCTION

A nation cannot be independent unless it develops self-sufficiency in its primary needs—food, clothing and shelter. Our Agrarian Economy is one which helps us to stand on our own legs. Ours has always been an agricultural country and all such industries as existed have been concentrated round agriculture.

INDUSTRY OR OCCUPATION

The American method of producing grains makes agriculture an industry as distinct from an occupation. We need to make that distinction clear because a great many of the differences that arise and the methods that are used and the principles followed come out of that distinction.

An industry is not concerned with the question whether people are starving in India or in any part of the world, its sole concern is to maintain high prices. Human considerations do not prevail at all All that is needed is to keep down the supply so that the demand will put up the prices.

In the U.S.A. there is a plentiful supply of land and so they produce for exchange using all the wasteful and selfish methods of the Mithaiwala.

MANURES

Ours is an ancient land with a teeming population. Land requires time to recuperate between crops. The more we extract from the land the longer it takes to regain its fertility. Our methods of agri-

culture have, through the experience of centuries, reached a stage where production is balanced with its recuperative power. If we use the Mithaiwala methods and attempt to exploit the land to the fullest extent by stimulating it, we shall be exhausting its fertility faster than its ability to regain itself and finally we shall be turning good cultivable soil into barren deserts. This is the danger facing our country should it decide to take to the American methods of cultivation. It is better for us to be content with a smaller crop while remaining within the range of recovery of soil fertility. The extent of production is not the only concern but the balance between production and continued use of land available is also an important factor. We shall see how the details of the processes involved in the two methods lead to widely differing results.

Artificial fertilisation, according to many scientists, exhausts the soil. There are such things as earth worms. These earth worms do a great deal of the agricultural work we need. Our ploughing, weeding, etc., are not so very important operations as the work done by the earth worm. These worms eat the humus-vegetable matter—in the soil and they turn it inside themselves into an assimilable type of manure which they throw out. In the act of boring into the earth, they enable air and water to get through, so that the soil is enriched by taking certain things from the air and water. Therefore the earth worms are really fertilising the soil, and helping the recuperative process.

But when we use artificial fertilisers, we are not giving these worms the necessary vegetable matter from which they can get their food. When we go on giving them chemical fertilisers, they die out as they cannot live on chemicals. Earth worms require farm yard manure to thrive. Such manure is like staple food for the soil. While using fertilisers,

first, we plough a little bit of land. When that is exhausted, plough a little deeper, till at last we find that the soil gets caked like a rock as there are no earth worms to loosen the soil. You cannot use that land afterwards in any way. In India with a limited extent of land we cannot use this method.

Chemical fertilisers are as drug as distinguished from food. Drugs may be necessary in certain cases. Supposing a fellow is drunk with toddy and he dances, we would not call that energy production. It is an excitement of the nervous system. He will be exhausting himself after a little exertion. The next moment he will be rolling in the gutters. That is what happens to the soil when fertilisers are used. They have a place, of course. If one is ill, doctors come and give some suitable injection. They give it in very small doses according to the needs of the case. They examine the patient, particularly the heart, and see how much the patient could stand and then administer according to the indications in the particular case. The doctors may give quinine for malaria. Suppose a patient thinks—"the Doctor gives me quinine for Malaria. He wants me to take 2 or 3 or 5 grains a day. By taking in a lump I must get better sooner. So I must take a Laddu of quinine and take it !" What will happen ? He will be cured of Malaria, but the germs will die along with him. We can prepare Laddu of wheat and eat it according to the capacity of our digestion, and we shall be the better for it.

Thus fertilisers must be used as medicine and not as staple food and they can only be used after a careful soil analysis and in prescribed doses for particular pieces of land.

Where a person is looking at the enrichment of the soil from the industrial point of view, he does not care two straws for the soil's ultimate condition. What he wants is big crops and large crops in quanti-

ty. He goes on fertilising and getting crops for a few years. Afterwards he will have to go without them.

In an industry this method can be allowed. In America they have been wastefully utilising petrol during the last two wars. At one time they thought that they had got an inexhaustible store of petrol. Today they want other lands where petrol could be had. This kind of wasteful exhaustion brings one to a state where one wants to impinge on other's property. This greed is a fruitful source of violence.

Artificial fertilisation is not a thing that India can stand. If it has got to be administered, side by side with it, you must have chemical analysis of the soil all over the country, and it should be found out where it is necessary and what is necessary.

There are some fields where Jowar and other things are cultivated. Some Jowar plants may be 10 feet or 12 feet high, while others are stunted. What does it mean? It means that some soils are very good and others are extremely poor. That poor soil will have to be analysed and given what is necessary. We have not got in India doctors even for human beings, let alone doctors for soil analysis. Therefore it is absurd in India to use artificial fertilisation. In Bihar and Travancore there are artificial fertiliser factories. The industrialists, like the Mithaiwala, want to have the money transferred from the pockets of poor ryots into their own pockets. Let us not fall a victim to these temptations.

If we analyse these two methods of cultivation the former comes under the mother's method of preparing *halwa*. We have to look after the land just as the mother wants to look after the child. The method of dealing with land, or agrarian economy, will have to be shaped according to whether we wish to stimulate the earth and exploit it or feed it and use it.

The method of dealng with the land has also several consequences. The short term methods are wasteful. The American cultivation is an industry and not an occupation as it is in Inida. The natural development of the farmer therefore and his attitude towards his fellowmen differs. The industralist never bothers who his customers are. The industrialist does not get into touch with the consumer. The mother's method will have to be centred round the person and his needs. Even when there is food shortage in India, they are going on increasing Virginia tobacco growing. It is the Mithaiwala method. They are producing not for food but for money. The same is true of many other things in our economy. It is necessary to decide what we are going to do. Are we going to have self-sufficiency ? Or are we going to make a few rich ? Erection of a dam means millions of acres will be brought under cultivation and crores of rupees will be spent and as a result thereof electricity will be generated. What is the main purpose ? The purpose is to sell electricity. Indusrialists are interested only in building up the dam. The electricity talk is the salesman's talk and the irrigation of millions of acres is also a salesman's talk. If what is wanted is to irrigate large areas, what is required is to spend small amounts say Rs.500|- at each place where erosion is going on or wells are wanted. The villagers will take care of the rest. The expenses will not be so great then. The Government can give the villagers materials. This will be a very good method of tackling the problem with the co-operation of the people. It will develop people into looking after the Governmental functions also.

There is danger in all such projects. Electricity is not an unqualified blessing. In South Arcot District, Electricity generated from the Mettur project was made available. They wanted electric pumps to be

used for pumping out water from wells and tanks. The place was getting absolutely barren. The villagers were cutting down cashew nut trees. They were quite good trees and not diseased ones. On enquiry the people said that they had nothing to eat and they were cutting the trees and making them into charcoal and selling them and getting a livelihood that way. They said that since the giant electric poles had come they could not cultivate their lands. They said electricity was used for pumping out water. "They sold electric pumps and all those who had money bought them. We have no money to buy them. The people who are already rich purchased them. They pump the water out; the result is that all the wells that are 30 feet or so deep become dry and the poor people are without water. We used to pump out water with the use of bullocks. Even our tanks have gone dry." The plots which looked like land were originally tanks. Formerly when there was no electric pump, the rich were also cultivating Jowar etc. Now they have converted the land into garden crops. They are growing all kinds of fruits. What happens to these fruits? They go to Bombay, Bangalore, Madras and Calcutta. So the water is being transferred to Bombay, Bangalore, Madras and Calcutta because of the electric pump and the poor people's food has been cut out. Instead of starving they are cutting down trees and making charcoal and trying to keep body and soul together for a while. Now we see where the Mithaiwala economics leads us to? People were cheated and it has resulted ultimately in ruining the poor people. We see how this seemingly good scheme ruins the people. Therefore such schemes must be passed by the local people and they must understand and analyse the consequences of these things and find out where they will lead them to and take care that they do not harm them in any way. We must not be carried away by saying that in America they are

doing this and that, in New Zealand they are doing that, etc. Our methods have to be fitted to the conditions prevailing in our own land.

AGRICULTURAL PRICES

The prices of agrarian products are fixed not by the producer. Because of conditions over which he he has no control, since he has to depend on the monsoon he has no work for some months in the year. But we have to provide for his living. We are not including this in the cost of production. Suppose a man manufactures a bicycle. He leaves it in his Show Room for 6 months. When he sells it, he calculates the rent charges, puts a big margin of profit on it, etc., and sells it at a price based on such a calculation. All this is charged to the cost of production. So also should be the case in the case of the farmer. The so-called Economists sit down and begin to put down the prices of various things like iron, kerosene, clothing, etc., preparing some kind of jugglery and they call that a "price index". With this they calculate what the prices of agricultural products should be and fix the prices with no reference to actual costs. This is done by the Government and the consumer without consulting the producer in the matter. Thus the Government and the consumer together rob the rural population. That is what is happening. They actually rob it in this sense that it has no relationship to the actual production either. This thing had been done in the British regime and the same thing is going on today.

To protect the farmers from exploitation and ensure their needs being met we have a scheme called 'balanced cultivation.' In order to give the people a balanced diet we calculate how much land is necessary for the population of 10 to 15 villages. It will give us a gross idea. Then a survey of that land is made to find out how many acres can grow wheat and how many acres vegetables and

millets and so on and thus determine how to balance the cultivation. If we are short in certain things, we may be surplus in certain other things. Such surpluses are exchanged for goods in short supply. If there is exchange in surplus there will be no need for any violence or injustice. Violence and injustice arise out of exchanges which go below the level of self-sufficiency.

This can only be done if we look upon Agriculture as an occupation. If we want to develop the whole region economically, we require an intelligent use of land, and cultivation should follow our requirement and exchange what surplus we have for other things that we require. That is as regards utilisation of the land.

OWNERSHIP

All ownership in land is sinful. Today especially in U. P., Bihar and Bengal, we have a huge Zamindari system which is nothing less than misappropriation of public property. How much of the sunlight belongs to a man? We cannot have ownership in sunlight, air, water, etc. In the same way there can be no more possession in land, which is God-given social property. It is to be used for the benefit of the whole society. Just as sunlight, water, air, etc., belong to the community, so also land must belong to the community. It will be let out according to one's capacity to use it for social benefit. The ownership in land must belong to the community. That was our old system also. The village community owned the land and it was given out to different families for cultivation.

The cultivator who cultivates the land must have full benefit of the yield from the land he cultivates and only the surplus must be distributed amongst the rest of the people. When this system prevails we shall have distributive justice. Distribution will

have to be according to the needs of the people. We must ban private exchange of goods except through a controlled agency like the Co-operative Society.

The Co-operative Societies should be the distributing media and not the individual. The surplus should be handled through some medium where it can be controlled. In this way production could be equitably distributed.

LABOUR

Today there is an amount of serfdom among agricultural labour and de-humanising practices are going on all over the country. We cannot allow this if our agrarian economy is to follow a rational basis. In Gorakhpur there are Gobris. What is this Gobris system? The Zamindar gives the labourer the right to collect the cow dung. He washes it and takes the indigested grain of wheat in the animals excreta and that wheat is used for food! It is considered a privilege for these poor fellows and it is a part of their wages. This is how agricultural labour is being degraded in various ways.

In South India people take a loan of 10 or 15 rupees and work for generations under a landlord. In Malabar there are certain types of agricultural labourers who are used as cattle. The owners send their men for labour in other's fields and take the hire. The wages do not go to the people who work but to the landlords. The same kind of system is prevailing in Gujarat. All these evil practices are results of making land private property.

The various methods by which land is being exploited today, whether it be in India or in the West, have been based on principles that apply to industry. The prices, the methods used, etc., are all derogatory to human development. We must employ the mother's type of approach to these problems, and no body should be able to exploit another for his own

advantage. If we keep that in mind we shall develop a satisfactory system.

The feeling has to be created that our agricultural colleges are responsible to keep the land free from famines. If they do not do that, there is no justification for maintaining all these colleges. Up till now they have developed different kinds of sugar canes so that the mills could regularly get supplies every month and could work steadily. They have brought about cross-breeding between American cotton and Indian cotton, etc. But the primary need of the villager is not looked after.

Rights and investments :- Land tenures in our country vary from province to province and from person to person. Each holder holds under special contracts. Cultivable land is looked upon as investment. This lessens the amount of return to the workers. In a society every man should be a producer. But people now hold land as investment only. This is a parasitic economy.

In land the third party right might arise. In this case as in mills the social interests are comparatively little. In cultivable fields it is not so. If rice fields are converted into sugarcane fields the individual interests and the third party interests suffer resulting in food shortage.

In addition to landlords there are innumerable intermediaries. There should be no such intermediaries. There should be no owning of land except by those who actually plough land. The holding of land for exchange produces poverty and labour troubles.

Social effects: Fear of unemployment induces the labourer to act according to the wishes of the master. Basic human privileges have not yet been understood by the people. Agriculture must be construed a social service. Grants must be given to agriculturists for improvements. Such grants must be attached to the land, not to the man who holds it. Society should

take into consideration that the land is for the use of the people at large. Loans should be granted on the basis of the needs of the land and not on the credit worthiness of the tiller.

DIVISION OF PRODUCE

Today the whole of the Government organisation is based on revenue consideration. Governments are getting what they can get and they are not getting what the people can bear. Revenue has to be paid in money by the farmer. It means the farmer who gets his income by way of crops will have to convert it into money at harvest time when prices are low. Governments do not think of the difficulties the poor agriculturists are put to. Payment in kind will be beneficial to the people. Agricultural labour is also paid in kind. Indeed Government may have some difficulties to get *kist** in kind. Their difficulties should not be the deciding factor. By creation of Multipurpose Co-operative Societies the collection of revenue in the villages can be made through them and redistributed according to Government needs in the same villages. Social justice will be brought about by receiving revenue in kind.

* Revenue.

CHAPTER III.

AGRO AND VILLAGE INDUSTRIES

There is a confusion of thought, right from the Government of India downwards, in regard to the terms "Village Industry", "Cottage Industry" and "Home Industry". These terms are used more or less loosely. There are points of difference between village industry, cottage industry and home industry.

In a "village industry", production, distribution and consumption are more or less within the village. The potter makes pots not for sale in England, but for use in the village. His consumer is his next-door neighbour. The number of things he produces are produced, distributed and consumed in the local area. We call such village industries.

"Cottage Industry" only refers to the method of production. In village industries we may have a large number of workers but still it will remain a village industry. We have in Sanganer and Kanpur the paper industry. A number of people may be working, but it is a village industry. Take, for instance sandal-wood and ivory carving. Here the production is in the cottage. The consumption may be anywhere in Paris, London or New York. Often cottage industries lend themselves to exploitation. Their main purpose may be to sell the articles abroad and get foreign exchange. What does it signify? The cottages are made to work for the consumption of consumers anywhere. Ivory and sandal-wood carving may be sold outside to get dollars. Who wants dollars? It is the big capitalists who want dollars for heavy machinery and equipment of that nature. It is one means of diverting the income that

should be spent in the village to serve the purposes of capitalists. In a cottage industry distribution and consumption may be on a worldwide basis.

"Home Industries" are carried on by home makers, who are generally women, for their home purposes. Embroidery work and a certain amount of knitting and needle work, preserves like jam, pickle and *papads*, etc. Such may be termed home industries.

PURPOSE

In village industries there is a possibility of human development for the worker himself. It places him on his merit. He has to be resourceful and therefore he develops; but in large scale industries very often initiative is destroyed. We study the consumer. We look after the customers' convenience. What are we really doing? Ultimately we are really destroying the little ingenuity that may be left in every one of us. Cigarette tins have inside them little card board slips. When the lid is opened and the slip is pulled up, the first cigarette comes out and thus the packing is loosened. Because of that, smokers will purchase that particular brand. We see large advertisements of self-winding wrist watches. Men have got so demoralised that they have not got the energy to wind the watches! Some maker of self-winding watches is advertising that when you shake your hand this way or that, the watch automatically gets wound!

A great many things are supposed to be made for convenience, but ultimately they are destroying the resourcefulness of the consumer and encouraging laziness. The more the manufacturers study consumers' convenience, the more the latter become lazy. These are done to enslave the consumer. Ultimately, it means that a lot of our energy is diverted to various other things, on which we need not spend

it. Take for instance shaving. Before the safety-razor came, the old type of open razor made in Hamburg or England was sold for Rs. 3|8|-. It could last for over forty years. We can calculate how many shaves it can give for Rs. 3|8|-. Such razors are now known as "cut-throat razors". Because of the name, nobody wants to purchase such now. These are all tricks of the trade to capture the consumer and keep him going. To sharpen the safety razor blade, they give a definitely shaped piece of glass on which it can be sharpened. With a little more resourcefulness only a bottle may be made to serve the purpose. These sharpeners are sold and such lazyminded men fall into the trap set for them. The more they use these devices the more lazy they become. Business today runs on lines calculated to make man more and more lazy. They are called labour-saving devices. They really mean more labour for the person who is taking advantage of it.

In England they used to have a day in the week when the poor women of the locality would come and beat the carpet of the well-to-do, clean it, and be paid 18d. per hour for the work; that used to go towards their living expenses. Later, labour-saving devices came with vacuum cleaning. As a result these old women, who are now displaced, do not get the 18d. per hour for that part of the work, but the labour of vacuum cleaning has been shifted to the shoulders of the householder. It is all topsy-turvy.

When we plead for village industries, it is not primarily for making work for other people but as a means of self-expression. It helps one to grow. If it does not do it, it is not useful. Every artisan's self-expression must be the same as that of the artist. The artist paints on a canvas say worth Rs. 5|- and uses paint worth Rs. 5|-. Altogether he spends Rs. 10|-. But the painting may sell for hundreds or even thousands of rupees. Why? It is for the personality of that artist which is projected into his work.

On the other hand take lithograph. On all mill cloths beautiful pictures of Saraswati and Lakshmi are to be seen. We can produce such pictures on a large-scale, but there is no personality, and the artist is not represented there. The real art comes where we project ourselves in certain things, and cottage industries give us that opportunity, and every good cottage industry worker takes an interest in the work he does himself.

The khadi programme was directed to bringing about a certain amount of non-violence and truth in our own lives. Originally, as we have noted already, England was an animal-centred economy and horses provided the motive force. Then steam took the place. They invented weaving mills and spinning mills run by steam, and began to produce articles in a larger measure, and therefore, it was necessary to produce more cotton for the textile mills. At that time India was sending out beautiful Dacca muslins and other cotton fabrics to London. England imposed protective duties. Round about Manchester cotton does not grow. Between the short staple cotton and the long staple cotton, there is a great difference. For hand spinning, short staple cotton, as is grown in India, will do. The machine needs long staple cotton because of the high speed at which the spindle rotates. The strength of the mill cloth is largely on the twist. As Manchester expanded she wanted to have more and more cotton. The Southern States of America, it was thought, would produce the needed quality and quantity of cotton. Many of the settlers there were of British origin. Britain got them to cultivate the long staple cotton. The Britishers are not fond of working in the hot sun, especially in tropical climes. In the Southern States of America the climatic conditions are not very good, but are much the same as are found in the northern parts of India. Hence, they had to get slave labour for field work. That gave an impetus for the Negro slave trade. When we use American cotton we see how we

would become a party to that slavery, which is an immoral thing. This went on merrily for some time till about the middle of the last century when Abraham Lincoln raised his voice against slave trade. The Southern States said that they would not forego slave labour as their standards of living would go down, and that they were looking after the slaves very well and all that kind of argument that we see now in the trusteeship idea. War was declared between the Northern States and the Southern States. The cotton had been hitherto transported over to Manchester by the Northern States. Now they refused to do so. Cotton export to Manchester was stopped. Manchester had spent lakhs of rupees on the machinery. They thought that cotton should be produced somewhere else. The northern parts of the Punjab were on the same latitude as that of the Southern States of America. So they thought that such cotton could be produced in India also. By this time the British had got hold of the political power from the East India Commpany. They began to carry on researches in cotton. That was the genesis of the establishment of the Agricultural Colleges in India under the pretext of developing India. They carried on crores of rupees worth of experiments. Who paid for these researches? India bore the expenses and Manchester got tht benefit of the researches.

When long staple cotton was produced in the Punjab, it had to be sent to Manchester. Then the Railways were developed again under the plea of developing India. Who benefited by the railways? The Manchester people did without paying the cost.

Cotton had to be carried to Liverpool, Manchester, etc. They sent it round Ceylon, through the Red sea and the Mediterranean route, etc. It called for policing the high-ways. How did they do it? By having naval bases in Trincomalee in Ceylon, Aden in the Red Sea and Portsaid in the Mediterranean etc. All these were fortified. Who paid for these?

Not the Manchester millowner but the general tax payer.

Under the circumstances will the product be cheaper? Undoubtedly, because the research expenses, transport, etc., were borne by the Indian tax payer and to a certain extent the British tax payer. To the producer it will be cheap because of the costs borne by somebody else. That was why mill-made cloth is even to-day cheaper than Khadi. But there is dishonesty in it. In the whole of this history there is violence and untruth. It was nothing else but a national robbery. Therefore Gandhiji held that even if we had to go naked, we ought not to touch such goods. If we benefited by such economy we became parties to the robbery.

There is a moral force behind this movement towards village industry. We can understand why combined with the political programme, this Khadi base gave us a very good opportunity for the national movement and that was the reason why Gandhiji started with khadi as the chief item of the programme. "Ply the Charkha and win Swaraj". What does it mean? It means ultimately that we understand the implications of that wheel, the Charkha. The progress from untruth to truth, the movement from violence to non-violence, must be felt by us.

Because of that the Manchester cloth must have in it certain moral or more correctly immoral values which cannot be computed in terms of money. We referred to the naval bases, and also the army and the navy. The army and the navy cost no doubt a great deal; but more than that we have the cost which is not computable in terms of money. The human lives lost, the blood that has been shed to keep the places clear and safe for purposes of trade—these cannot be computed. Therefore the Manchester cloth was dipped in human blood! We don't have the

spiritual vision to see the blood in the cloth and think it is white. But to Gandhiji it was red with the marks of human blood. All foreign trade is ultimately based on this type of violence.

If we use for everyday consumption the methods of large-scale production we stand in danger of being parties to immoral practices. The more and more we decentralise, the more and more we get into methods which are morally and spiritually on a higher plane. If food, clothing and shelter are needed all these should be provided by people who are working through decentralised units. To a certain extent, it sterilises the robbery, the violence, and to that extent it is good for the growth of the cultural life of the country. That is the place village industries have to fill in the nation.

That does not rule out large-scale industries at all. But knowing the dangers, to get over the evil, we sterilise it by taking away the profit motive, substituting for it only the service motive. We draw a line, what should be manufactured by this method and what should be manufactured by other methods. We remove the chances of the wealthier or the more talented people exploiting the masses, and that is what we need. Decentralised industries have a definite place to play in our country, on a greater scale than large scale industries. We should keep large-scale industries under definite control because they are not conducive to the growth of Swaraj, namely the welfare of the general public being represented in the councils of the nation.

DEMOCRACY

In large scale industries this is not possible. Persons at the top are in a position to control or dictate to the four thousand or five thousand people—the labour force —their method of living. For ex-

ample, Tatanagar is in itself an empire. No individual has a right to rule over 4,000 to 5,000 men. Large scale industries are highly undemocratic while village industries develop democracy to a greater extent. Decentralised industry will develop the independence of the man and he will be able to keep his head erect. It ought to play a very important part in the national life, preparing the people for democracy. Large scale industries will politically lead to dictatorship. Even the so-called democratic countries like America, Russia, etc., became actual dictators under the stress of war. Wherever a country uses centralised industries for producing things which are necessary, ultimately it will end up in dictatorship. Democracy will be there only in form to mislead the people. There is hardly any difference between Stalin, Roosevelt, Churchill, Hitler or Mussolini. One is as good, or as bad, as the other. They were all dictators, because their countries had taken to the same method of centralised production. It follows naturally that people working in centralised industries get used to regimentation. This regimentation is not conducive to the growth of democracy. The fuller development of the moral and spiritual elements in man also call for a method of organisation through village or decenralised industries. Politically village industries provide the conditions for the development of democracy. To make use of village industries is not really going back to savagery unless democracy is savagery, but leads to civilization and culture, bringing out man's dignity and his independence and taking him out of the slavery of his own fellow men.

To-day many of us are slaves financially. These financial difficulties are really the mill-stones that are put round our necks by the people at the top. If we develop ourselves on the basis of individual farming or individual village industry, we can be independent. The higher the so-called standard of living, the stronger

is the tightening of the rope of subservience round us. We shall not have the moral strength to stand up for principles. High standard of living brings us to this. The larger and larger the unit, the greater becomes our slavery. If we want to have the moral political and spiritual problems solved, the only way is to be independent in our economic activity and we must resort to methods of production which will bring about such a state of affairs.

CHAPTER IV.

INDUSTRIAL ECONOMY

There is a false notion that industrialisation is an easy means for any country's advancement. We must always learn from history. History is an unmistakable record of past events. As the saying goes "history repeats itself". If we take the same steps we shall land ourselves in the same predicament. When early in the century in the great war between Russia and Japan, the latter won, there was rejoicing that an oriental nation had come up to the top. Within our own lifetime we have seen Japan disappearing from the face of the earth as a big power. Why? Industrialisation has not saved it. It has not saved any country. At the present moment, America appears to be at the top. There is no knowing when she will also go under. Violence creates unstable equilibrium. We cannot depend on it. The next moment somebody else becomes more violent and the erstwhile lords of the earth disappear. The idea that large-scale industries will save us is wrong. Industrialisation is only indispensable if the country's economy is based on violence and is not calculated to meet its daily requirements. In our country it is absolutely wasteful. It is far too expensive for us to indulge in it. To equip the Army, or Navy or Air Force, industrialisation is needed. They cannot do without them. If we want non-violence, large-scale industries are uneconomical for producing consumption goods only.

EFFICIENCY

For instance, one of the things that we use largely is paper. We can make paper by hand as well as by machinery. Which is the most economical method

of doing it from the point of view of the best utilisation of natural resources ? Supposing we make paper form bamboos. What do the mill paper makers do ? They have hundreds of acres of bamboos grown and they cut the tender bamoo. They put it in the mill and the paper is delivered at the other end. That is their method of doing it. It necessitates the cultivation of bamboo like the cultivation of sugar cane. The mill method of production is similar to the "mithaiwala's" method.

How do we produce it by hand? We don't have any forest cultivated for handmade paper out of bamboo. We go round and collect broken bamboo baskets, old mats, etc. out of waste heaps. It is frequently from rotten things that handmade paper is made.

Take the utilisation point of view. Bamboo is produced from the earth. In the case of the mill, it goes direct from the cultivated soil and comes out as paper. In the case of the handmade paper we do not cultivate bamboo. It is grown wild in the jungle. These bomboos are brought and baskets, etc. are made out of them. They are used and they last for five to ten years. We have the use of the bamboo for all these years. When it gets rotten, it is thrown away. After it is thrown away, we convert it into paper. Which is the better utilisation of resources of these two methods? The second method naturally, because we get several year's use out of the bamboo and when it becoms useless, we make use of it again for paper. We notice how wasteful it is to make paper by the first method.

In Norway and Sweden they have vast forests and they make paper from wood pulp. In our country this is not possible. In our country we cannot afford to have our land put to that kind of use. The bulk of our handmade paper is made out of waste material. We make paper out of jute. Where does it come

from? We do not import it from Eastern Pakistan or any other place like that. We get hold of old gunny bags that have been used, cut them up, boil them with caustic soda, reduce them to pulp and make paper. Looking at the utilisation of nature's gift, or production, we see that handmade methods are superior to the methods of mills.

In many respects, handmade things also lead to all round benefit which we do not get from mill made things. Take making soap. The factories bring caustic soda from some large chemical companies and with that caustic soda they mix up oil and by using different processes they manufacture soap. It is not creation but a transformation of the caustic soda.

We also make cottage soaps. We do not buy any caustic soda. Our boys go after the rains, about January or so to fields and collect the Sajjimitti available from the surface of the earth. The boys remove this alkaline earth from the surface, which makes the soil better for cultivation. We bring that sediment into our place, extract Soda Carbonate and prepare soap out of it adding slaked lime, water etc. We add Ghani oil or such other oil which does not compete with the people's food. Our agriculture is the better for this method of soap making and we utilise oils which are available for purposes other than eating. Thus our soap making forms a part of our economic order. Everywhere we have got to link up these things. Large scale industries often stand alone and are unrelated to the rest of the economic organisation.

POWER

The use of power also may lead towards non-violence or violence, truth or untruth, according as we resort to current economy or to reservoir economy. Let us start from the very simplest source. The primary source of power generally is man. We have

a wealth of man power and that man power must be used as widely as we possibly can. We should try to reduce every thing possible to man power.

In the Punjab there is a great deal of water power, used for grinding cereals. There is a vessel where the seed is placed. The grinding stone is rotated by water power at night and the *atta* is ready by the morning. It works practically without any cost. The only cost is that of making the wooden wheel required for the water to rotate the stone. From human power we come to natural power, namely water power. We have at our disposal an unending supply of water power at a very cheap rate. It can be utilised for making paper pulp, grinding *atta* or even generating electricity for a limited use.

Large amount of power was generated in the past by the use of wind mills. There are several such mills even today. It is one method of obtaining power. Wind mills cost about Rs. 700 or 800 each.

Power costs more as we go further and further from man power. It will not be easily available for poor people. Monopolies are therefore likely to be created.

We then come from nature to animal power. We have all kinds of animals—bullocks, donkeys, horses, camels, and even elephants—available to people in India. Thus, we have man power, water power, wind mill power, animal power,—all are indigenous.

In India our dependence on the bullock power makes dairying an indispensible industry, not only for food such as milk, ghee etc., but also for manures and bullocks. We are familiar with the bullock. In Italy too they use bullocks for ploughing. In Northern countries they use horses. Horse power has been the common factor even in western countries until recently for ploughing etc. In sandy

deserts they use camels. The camel is a very convenient animal because of its stupidity. It goes on working once started till it is stopped. Elephants are sources of great power in our country. They are largely used in timber yards. Elephants can be used for clearing waste lands and jungles and bringing them under cultivation. Elephants may be used in the place of tractors. They can turn out much of the work that the tractors do. The elephants are almost human in their intelligence. But they cannot be kept in areas where there are not plenty of trees. It would cost about 30 rupees a day to feed an elephant. In a jungle we can afford to keep them. In such places we can utilise elephant power as far as available. In Rangoon and Travancore they are using elephants for timber lifting. Thus we can make use of these various powers right down from doing things with our own hands to the power that elephants provide.

We have got also to see that all things of primary necessities come out of our own country. Unless we do that there is a tremendous danger of our being left high and dry when the time of conflict comes.

TRACTORS

There is a great deal of talk about tractor cultivation. If we scrutinise it we shall see the danger. A clever Director of Agriculture was enthusiastic about tractor cultivation. He wanted to convert all our agriculture into tractor cultivation. Tractors run on petrol or crude oil which are imported stuffs. Supposing a world war comes on, where from shall we get crude oil or petrol? It is perilous to depend on imported motive power for our food production.

There is another difficulty with tractors at the present time. Though the machines are available

they cannot be serviced. They need a service station. If you want to use them in India, you must have the necessary service stations. It involves a certain stage of development of our economic organisation. Therefore we must have power according to the nature of the circumstances under which we are working.

ELECTRICITY

We may have even electricity to a certain extent. If we want to use electricity we have got to be very cautious. We have seen how the electric power used in the South Arcot District eventually resulted in the water from the villages being virtually exported to places like Madras, Bombay, Bangalore and other cities in the form of fruits and the villagers being left without water. We have to see how we introduce it and whether its introduction will bring about the welfare of the people or ruin them. If we want to introduce pumps we should do so only where water is available. In the South Arcot District, 94 per cent of the rainfall went to the sea, and 6 per cent only was retained in the ground. By this process of electric pumping, we are reserving that 6 per cent for those who have and are taking it away from those who have not. It is a predatory system of economy; it is pick-pocketing. We tap only the 6 per cent. water. Real work must be to reserve and conserve a large part of the 94 per cent. of water which runs to the sea. We do not worry about it, because conserving would mean irrigation works which would not put money into businessmen's pockets. If electric pumps etc. are sold, the businessmen get commissions. The real objective should be to capture the rain and harness it. If the water level can be raised and utilised for irrigation purposes, it is best. If we use it for predatory purposes, it is immoral and criminal.

We must be able to judge every thing on these lines. A certain thing may be very good in itself

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but when used in a wrong way it may prove dangerous. There was a child of 3 years of age. The mother was cooking. The child went to the cupboard and discovered a small bottle. He pulled out the cork and put one pill out of it into his mouth. It was a sugar coated pill. Finding the pill sweet the child went on swallowing the pills one after another till he had swallowed about 20 pills. They were quinine pills! Soon after the child fell down in convulsions and before the doctor could be brought, life became extinct. Similarly power is a dangerous weapon to be put into every body's hand.

In a certain province the Government wanted to introduce electricity to electrify the handlooms in a village. They did it with the best of intentions. There were a thousand weavers in the village. After two years of the introduction of electricity, many weavers had given up their profession and others had left the village. It had brought about the dispersal of the population. What had happened was like this. There is a beautiful car, with a powerful engine etc., and by the side there is a bullock cart with two fine bullocks. What would happen if we take away the two bullocks and transfer and fit the fine engine to drive the bullock cart? The engine can run at 60 miles per hour, but it will not form a combination with the cart.

They were formerly using the handloom for the manufacture of sarees and produced a saree a week. They may make 50 sarees a year. Each saree woul cost Rs. 50|- or so. Each weaver required a certain amount of capital to buy the necessary silk yarn to make the sarees. The sarees were manufactured for the marriage season. During the marriage season every thing would be sold out. When they electrified the looms competition began amongst the weavers. Each one began to manufacture in large quantities say about 200 sarees. They had to dispose of them. The market

had not expanded 200 times as the marriage season could not also be increased 200 times! These sarees were manufactured in large quantities and were sold at cheap rates to merchants and financiers. The weavers spent away the money and for a major portion of the year afterwards they had absolutely nothing to do. A great many became labourers. That is what had happened by electrification of hand looms. It only brought destruction to many. People's understanding of their resources and getting used to a certain sense of speed are necessary developments and prerequisites if power is to be used. We are unable to adjust ourselves to the great speed which leads to financial and nervous breakdown. We have got to consider whether a life of this tremendous pressure is necessary in our land. In our own country our needs are few.

A technical school was teaching carpentry. It was fitted with electric machinery. The Manager was proud of the teaching, and his equipment. The trainees were all village boys and they were taught to use all those machines. In the Show Room there were beautiful dressing tables, wardrobes, rose wood carved work, sandal wood work, etc. The boys did not know even how to use this type of furniture. There was a very good market for these in England. This school was exploiting child labour for supplying cheap furniture to London. The students in the end did not know how to construct even a bullock cart. What is the use of such education?

The boys' education must be co-ordinated to their own life. We ought to make them resourceful under the conditoins of life in which they are going to live. We have got to be careful that their education is useful to the people in their own villages. The more we take to mechanical power, the less will it stand us in good stead in times of necessity.

This is the way things are being done today piecemeal. We are going to build up a wonderful

navy based on petrol and crude oil which fuel we will have to get from our enemies! If we have a Navy of gun boats which runs on crude oil and if a conflict arises with America or England, the oil supply will be cut off. These naval powers are those with whom we may happen to come into conffict. It would be folly on our part to expect our enemy power to supply us steel, petrol, etc., to fight them in return. We must base our economic order on such things which we ourselves possess and use them in such a manner as would benefit us in the long run.

PUBLIC UTILITIES

Are telegraphs, telephones, aeroplanes and other amenities essential? The railways have not been an unmixed blessing. It is doubtful if they have been even a mixed blessing. They have been largely responsible for creating famines. When we analyse the evils that have been caused by Railways we shall find that the famines have been increasing considerably within the railway era. Formerly, in villages two or three years' paddy used to be kept before anything was sent to the market. When the railways came, they drained away all these reserves and hence the present famines are artificial ones. In the old days, they were due to natural causes such as failure of rains. Today they are due to conditions made by man, especially by the instrumentality of the railways. Railways have been instrumental in converting our country into a raw material producing country. If we want to have such means of transport, have them by all means. But they must be worked under proper safeguards.

Certain things may be used, but used like poison, under control and in the hands of specialists. Key industries and large scale industries, must be under the control of the Government. By and large, the people should use indigenous power that is easily available to them. When electricity is available

everywhere and we have got adjusted to the tempo of that kind of activity then we may use it. But when we are not adjusted to it, we may suffer from it.

The question whether to use power or not must be taken in conjunction with the local circumstances. It is very difficult to lay a hard and fast rule in all these matters. We must not be enamoured of high power machines. The danger comes when we forget the circumstances prevailing in the country. If the benefit is not available to every one in the country, it would lead to a condition in which partial monopolies will result.

DIFFUSION

At the moment there is a great interest evinced in the way Japan is using power. The system is claimed to be one of decentralisation. It is really diffusion of production. Instead of being concentrated in towns, it is diffused all over. There is a greater exploitation of human beings than in the city centred production. It is a subtle way of exploitation. We are not sure whether we shall be able to stand it in India. There are possibilities of greater exploitation by diffusion of the centres than under concentrated production. When industries are diffused we are not aware of their actual conditions of working and believe that they are independent producers. To produce a marketable article the workers are dependent on some central organisation. They will not be able to be independent at any time. The whole economy is centred on the material production rather on human welfare.

Whether we use power or not, will ultimately depend on these various considerations. We have studied briefly the question — whether to use power and if so, what sort of power to use, and seen in what cases power will be beneficial and in what cases

power may be harmful to us. Tractors, petrol etc., being of the reservoir economy, will lead to violence in the end.

The bullock, cow, horse, etc., give us power and also manure. A man had 200 acres of land. One tractor salesman who had a tractor of 200 horse power with him wanted to show the landowner of 200 acres how a tractor could plough the land in a few days. He said he would get the land ploughed in a short time, and after the land had been ploughed he came and told the farmer that the land had been completely ploughed and wanted him to see it for himself. The man went and saw and asked him where he had put the 200 horse dung! The tractor was of 200 horse power and therefore there should be dung of 200 horses. Then he said he wanted, not only the ploughing of the land, but also manure. Our cattle are fertilising factories as well as power generating units. We cannot get things piecemeal like power from one place, manure from another place, etc. We have got to organise our economy all round. Only then it could be called a system. It is a misnomer to call the western economy a systematic organisation, because it is all piecemeal. The various units of the economy must be co-ordinated.

Great Britain came in for a terrible crisis in 1940-41 because she was dependent on foreign countries for food. In that little island there may be an excuse for having this kind of organisation as it is a small country. Most things they have to get from outside. The things they have there are coal, iron and steel, and they cannot live on them, and therefore they may be dependent on other countries.

We are thinking in terms of our own country, which is a vast country with various resources available, and therefore, there is no excuse on our part to bring in things from outside when we can develop them ourselves. From our own resources we can produce almost everything. There is no such thing

as waste at all. One dovetails into the other. What is waste in one case becomes raw material in the second. We must develop our economy on that basis and it is possible in India, though it may not be possible in other countries. Industrialisation may be wasteful under the conditions under which we are placed.

WORK

All actions have their reactions. We must not think in terms of material products only. Work is a thing which has to be analysed and the good it brings us ascertained. If it does not do us any good, we need not work at all. In the Bible it was said—"By the sweat of thy brow shalt thou eat bread." Man says that he would not sweat but at the same time eat. He makes some body else sweat and he eats.

Work has two constituents—the disciplinary part and the creative or pleasurable part. The great Empires of Babylon etc. deprived man of his primray possession, namely freedom. They made the slaves sweat and the slaveowners enjoyed the fruits of that labour. The work part of it the slaves did and the pleasurable part the lords enjoyed. What was the result? A person requires exercise to keep his body fit. Similarly also all work gives us exercise for various faculties to develop. If we take away all work—the disciplinary aspect—man will deteriorate. The old civilisations died out because men did not work and culturally deteriorated. If we separate the disciplinary side and the cultural side, we shall deteriorate. The slaves deteriorated because they drudged all the time and the lords deteriorated because they did only the enjoying part of it. The two things should go together. All work or all play is not good for anybody.

Under the old feudal system the lords lived in the castles and the serfs cultivated the soil. That system also has crumbled in course of time.

They devised another method of bringing slavery through the possession or control of instruments of production. We have the capitalistic system. On top of this we have, even to this day, the position of whole nations held under slavery, politically. This is called imperialism. The slave or colonial constituents produce raw materials, while the empire country enjoys a higher standard of living. This also ultimately spells destruction.

England today is in the dark ages. Although materially during the Victorian period she might be said to have had a fair amount of prosperity, culturally it was the darkest age. In literature, music, art, architecture etc. England's best period was during the Elizabethan period which the British called dark ages. As industries came on, its culture went down and when culture went down, it deteriorated into a third rate power. In the Victorian age she continued to be a powerful factor because of her previous foundations.

DEVELOPMENT OF PERSONALITY

Prof. Cyril Burt, a great psychologist, specialised in intelligence tests, says that the research that he has carried on during the last 40 years indicates that England is deteriorating at an alarming rate according to intelligence tests carried out on the younger people. This is understandable from our point of view. The more we depend on industries the less are the chances for the people to develop.

The reaction of industrialisation on man is not conducive to his growth. At a shoe factory in Northampton which is a great shoe making centre a psychologist was in charge of the personnel. The factory was making men's shoes. There was an old man who did nothing else but cutting heels to shape. This he had done for 37 years. He was not even an expert shoemaker after all that time. All the 37 years he had not seen the whole factory. How very

destructive this method is to human beings? We are a bundle of nerves. We have to study, work, play, laugh, etc. for our growth. Work is to our higher faculties what food is to the physical body. The occupation we follow should contribute towards the growth of our personality.

Modern countries, like America, which have studied these things carefully are also providing for laughter! The Americans in their own way have a separate time for laughter. In their amusement parks there is a place where all the chairs are electrified. When people sit on them and the switch is on, the chairs bang against each other, and then there is a peal of laughter from the occupants. After a hard day's labour when nerves are frayed, they relax like this! This is their system of division of labour.

If we project this approach to work into dietetics what will happen? The different things that are needed for eating are purchased, and cooked and served. Our own method of eating is to put the different items of food in the leaf and eat them. According to the division of labour of centralised industries, it would need specialisation. It would require one person to drink all the ghee, one person to eat all the rice, etc. Each man will do only one specified process. The result of such a division of labour in dietetics will be that all the partakers will die. The method is totally unsuited for human beings.

In decentralised industries it is different. There was a school master who was getting Rs. 40|- per mensem and he was making caps to supplement his income. He was asked to demonstrate cap making. He brought his work basket. There was some plush like cloth. This was obtained from Italy. Another Satin like cloth he bought from Japan. Some eyelets were from Birmingham. He took some newspapers and cut them out into electrical shape. He

cut out the satin looking cloth and worked some designs on the sewing machine. The commercial faculties of the teacher were at work when he purchased the different articles he needed for making the cap. Then his economic faculties came into play, then his artistic talents and so on. Meanwhile the child in his back yard cried. He left everything, criticised his wife roundly and said that when distinguished visitors had come she should not have allowed the child to cry. Here we notice, was a complete digression and recreation! So the various parts of man got a certain amount of work or expression in different ways including a quarrel with the wife! This way cottage industries provide scope for all the faculties of man.

Industrialisation is not conducive to the growth of the whole man and his full development as a personality. Work has its reaction on mind and that is very much more important than the material manifestation of work. Our emphasis must be, not on the material things we produce, but on the opportunities to make people grow. That is the basis of the new system of education that Gandhiji has developed. Gandhiji's scheme of education is based on his philosophy of work. The present system of education is to pump information into children's heads. In the final analysis it is not real education. Character is not developed but persons so educated go about like an encyclopaedia of knowledge.

Our standard of living must be one which gives us an opportunity to express the highest in us, and should not be the result of a multiplicity of wants that are being created artificially. This latter does not make for a higher standard of living. It is a misnomer to call multiplicity of wants a high standard of living. Compare Churchill and Gandhiji. Gandhiji had certain values. His thoughts were fixed on higher things. That is the higher standard which distinguishes us from the animals. Churchill goes

about with a Cigar in his mouth indicating values of indulgence. That may be a complex standard of living but certainly not a high standard of living. There is a complex standard and there is a high standard. Gandhiji's was simple but a high standard, whereas Churchill's is complex but a low standard, comparatively speaking. Service is a higher ideal, while power is a lower one. Working for power is a low standard.

Psychologically the industrialists attempt to make a good market by parading this material standard of living. They set before the people a fashion to be blindly followed. The extent to which people follow that fashion, it makes for business. If industrialists can change fashions, new things could be made and a good market is created. Industrialists flourish on the folly of the customers.

Sitting on the floor and eating from the plantain leaf does not form a low standard of living. We do not have to wash even the plantain leaf; we simply throw it away. If we eat with forks and spoons it means a good amount of work to clean and wash etc. We are getting more and more complex today. We have got to make a distinction between what is a higher standard of living and what is a lower standard of living. From this point of view of simple life, industrialisation is not necessary for a high standard of life.

We have seen that from the point of view of the method of production, industrialisation is wasteful. From the point of view of the growth of human beings industrialisation is a hindrance. Human beings become mere machines. The articles that they produce are not often necessary for us. If we do not think that a high standard of living consists in having a multiplicity of wants, then industrialisation is not called for to promote a high standard of life.

There are certain things for which large scale industries may be used. We do not advocate that

these should be wiped out altogether. They will be used only as necessary evils. If we want quick transportation, it becomes a necessary evil. Industrialisation is an evil. We may put up with it in certain cases. In our life we take food and also poison. We may have industrialisation ; we should put the industrial products in cupboards and label them as poison. Then we shall use them under proper controls. Large scale industries must be under state control and not under private ownership and run not for profit but only run on a service basis. We organise a system in which there will be room for large scale industries also. We must decide for what things they are necessary. They must form a controlled section of our economic order, while small scale industries are left free, just as staple foods are not to be normally under controls, while medicines, especially poisonous ones, have to be. In the industrial sector of our economic order, we have to put large scale industry in juxtaposition, and centralised industries should be used only wherever necessary. They should be used for a certain restricted purpose, and not for making money by individuals and flooding the country with unnecessary things.

CHAPTER V.

SOCIALISM, COMMUNISM AND GANDHIAN ECONOMY.

Many of these 'isms' are forms of organisations meant for common good. At its best and when superficially looked at Communism does not appear to aim at anything less than what Gandhism does. But there is a world of difference in the means. On the material level there might not be much apparent difference, but we must judge not merely from the material level, but also from the moral, the spiritual and the social level. On the material and on the social level they may appear almost equal. When we come to the application of moral and spiritual values, we begin to bifurcate. Even at the social level, they are not quite equal. Socialism and Communism think of the nation as one unit. India's trade is not one unit. It is made up of Birlas, Tatas, Dalmias and an innumerable number of other such persons. When we talk in terms of Indian trade or Indian wealth, we are not referring to homogeneous things. We are concerned with individuals and not India as a whole. There is no such thing as India apart from the human beings composing it. There are human beings also in America, in England and in every other country. Our outlook must be universal.

There is a great deal of difference in this between Gandhism and Socialism. While in England, even Indians must eat the food that is grown there, because we plead for self-sufficiency. It makes little difference whether it is India or England. Imported food we should not eat; as political frontiers lead to conflicts foreign trade is often based on violence. We are human beings and not ideological units. Our attitude is not one of nationalism. The group has no

existence without the units. In that way socialism is somewhat circumscribed and communism too. They have a certain limited ideology.

Gandhism aims at the development of the human being. It does not matter how many chairs and tables we have got in our house. Communism emphasises the material welfare at all costs. Other human beings may be subjugated. State Socialism looks upon all human beings as only living for the State, while under the Gandhian conception State is an instrument for the benefit of every individual. He should develop spiritually, morally and economically. In so far as we are aiming at material welfare, there can be no difference between communism and socialism and Gandhism. The difference comes where we infuse moral values. As an individual every person has a moral responsibility. When a social plan appeals to our higher nature and to our conception of spiritual and moral standards, it is all right. If it does not, we may withdraw. That is where non-co-operation fits in.

But in Socialism or Communism we have got to do and toe the line that is placed before us. The State or the Society is supreme. In our case the individuals are spiritual beings and the State is there to help to realise the individual's personality. The emphasis we lay is primarily moral and spiritual. Even if our material welfare is not catered for, it does not matter. Even bicycle riding may be an act that supports warfare. The armament factories are run during war time, to make tanks and other armaments and munitions. When they are not so engaged during the so called peace time, the machinery would become rusted. So at such times, they make only a certain amount of armaments and are otherwise utilised in producing something for the market. They turn their attention to supplying other universal wants e.g., bicycle. When we buy a Rs. 200|- worth B. S. A. bicycle, we are paying part of the war expenses to

keep that armament factory going. That is a consideration under Gandhism, but not under Socialism or Communism.

REGIMENTATION

In the Gandhian order of things there is room also for some regimentation. Gandhiji wants every body to spin; there is regimentation; but it is voluntary. We spin one hour every day as part of our discipline. That is active co-operation with the ideal that is set before us.

Under Socialism they may want to socialise large scale industries. There, as we have seen men are made part of the machine so that production may be kept up. They want to reckon in terms of material results. Gandhiji's ideal is to calculate in terms of individual expression. Some persons may be of a higher type and some of the lower. If the person is of a higher quality, he should help the men in the lower stages. We have to count ourselves as one family. There is neither white, black nor brown; neither Chinese, nor Japanese. These considerations do not come in. It is not because that an article is produced by Japan that we do not want to use it. In the case of the widespread boycott after the Bengal Partition, we boycotted all things that were British. That boycott may be all right under socialism or communism. That was founded on hatred and was basically political. Ultimately it will lead to violence. Under the Gandhian order, if we refrain from using a foreign article it is because we do not know anything of the article and cannot assess its value and the conditions under which it was produced so far away. If we burn kerosene oil we become a party to Burmese slavery, as Burma, where the oil comes from, was subjugated to exploit her resources. Such boycott is non-violent. We may call it non-violent Swadeshi spirit. The Bengal partition Swadeshi was violent Swadeshi. The Gandhian

programme which refrains from getting foreign goods is non-violent Swadeshi.

In this way in every act of ours we shall notice that the considerations that weigh are moral and spiritual as against purely material or political; and we must refrain from those that will ultimately lead to war based on hatred, greed and jealousy.

There is a big difference in the organisation of the Socialist State, the Communist State and the Gandhian State at that plane where moral considerations come in. In the case of organisations also there is some difference. There is difference in the way in which we are trying to work it. If one wants to have centralised methods of production, one should be prepared for regimentation which contributes to a mentality conducive to dictatorship. "Our is not to reason why; ours is but to do and die." In the Gandhian economy, each man is responsible to his own God. If we do that, we must depend on the Inner Voice. Through self-discipline and self-control we should develop the power of discerning right from wrong. Then comes Civil Disobedince. The mind should be prepared to take the consequences of that Disobedience. Gandhian economy is based on moral and spiritual forces. Each individual is supreme; each individual is considered a divine person; each individual represents that which is immortal in man. Otherwise we are no better than a Zoo. We rise above the animal kingdom in so far only as we develop our higher self. When the economic and social organisations are so tuned as to encourage individual development and expression, we have what may be called the Gandhian Social order. Here in lies the difference between communism, socialism and Gandhism.

In the lower levels of material considerations also there is some difference. Ultimately the welfare of the whole society too is our concern. It makes a big difference when society is viewed as composed of

individuals in the Gandhian ideal. Society is looked upon as an aggregate made up of individuals contributing to make such a society. In socialism, individual development is not necessarily the objective. It may be even definitely against such an end.

GANDHIAN ECONOMY

Here is a picture of Gandhian Society. The organisation will be one which produces all that is necessary with the co-operation of the people around for their primary needs, viz., food, clothing, shelter, education of a type and other public utilities brought about by the method of decentralised control. The greater the control, the less is its approach to the Gandhian ideal. This would lead to chaos, if the ideal of self-control and self-discipline were not there. For instance, we have a blue print for construction of buildings. We see a mason is working by himself in the corner. Yet it is not chaos. Because the architect has planned where the different buildings should be put up. Each group works out the print into details. That controlling plan in life is the achievement of non-violence and truth. There cannot be chaos because they are eternal principles. They had no beginning and they will be there tomorrow when we are all gone. In a universal principle there can be no chaos. Each man is connected up with the power that is generated. In Calcutta, Madras and Bombay we have electric tramways. They are controlled in two ways. As long as they are on the rails below and connected with the live-wire above, they cannot deviate from the path. The moment they deviate, the connection goes off. As long as we are in touch with the Eternal Power on the one side and the track below, there can be no chaos. With self-control and self-dissipline we cannot go wrong any more than a mason goes wrong in building, as long as he follows closely the blue print provided by the architect. His relationship is

to the Master mind and the Master builder. Whatever our plan may be, if we direct it towards the achievement of non-violence and truth, which is the main plan, through self-control and self-discipline, just like the rails below, we shall attain unity of action and conformity with the rest of society. Chaos will come in if individuals are not qualified and equipped with these underlying requirements. In Gandhian society, therefore, there is full scope for each individual to express himself and yet sterilise the possible danger of chaos.

Now, on this basis we can lay down a plan for group action. The first thing we need is food. We must organise ourselves for production of food on a co-operative basis. We should know what we want. There is a certain thing called balanced diet. It is not merely taking cereals but it aims at balancing it with other items also. In addition to wheat we must have a little fat. We also require a certain amount of minerals. But there is very little mineral in cereals. To compensate that small quantity, we use vegetables and fruits. We shall have wheat as the staple food, balanced with ghee, fruits, vegetables and other items of that nature. Supposing we want to have a balanced diet for 6000 persons. We have the menu; we would require 6000 lbs. of wheat if we allow 16 ounces a person. Similarly we calcutate all other requirements. Having taken the total requirements we plan the amount of acreage that should be placed under wheat, etc. We would then know how much land is necessary for producing wheat, dal, etc. We shall need, say, about 12,000 acres. Having got it, we plough the land. There may be a variety of soil. We produce the things needed by us from the land suited to the crop. It may be that we cannot produce sufficient cotton in that area. We may produce vegetables, and exchange that surplus with somebody else for another thing which he has grown and

which we need but do not have. In this way we have got to plan out our cultivation. This is called balanced cultivation, referring back to its source, namely, balanced diet. In this manner we shall be able to meet our needs within our circle, or failing that, with the co-operation of the circle outside. For this we ought to have the co-operation of every body. We stop all trading; all production from a particular group comes into the common pool—the multipurpose co-operative society. Suppose one requires oil. The surplus of wheat produced by one will be utilised for supplying the one with oil. The co-operative society will get the oil seeds from farmers who cultivate it. The oil men do not produce seeds. The co-operative society has the seed and the oilman extracts oil. There is no payment made to the man. The return is not in the form of any money. The oil goes back to the co-operative society and the oil cake remains with the man. In the past this system of payment was really working well. That system is in existence to this day in some villages.

The whole of the payment was made on this co-operative system of a common pool and out of the common pool every body got some thing for the common services they rendered to society—the barber, the scavenger, the dhobie, the village sweeper, etc. When the threshing of corn goes on, each village servant including the teacher gets his quota distributed from the general pool. He gets it for certain service he renders. In those days we could not have a large number of razors. The barber had one razor. It was a specialised service he was rendering. The black-smith prepared steel and iron. He prepared also the razor. If each individual had to have a razor, we shall be wasting iron and steel. In our old organisation we had the village servants who got their quota, or minimum wage, out of the common pool for the services they rendered. The cobbler prepared one pair of chappals every

year for each of the village people. The chamar gave one mote to each farmer. If anyone wanted an extra chappal, he will have to pay for it separately. Each village servant's maintenance was taken care of out of the common pool. Today we have the Multipurpose Co-operative Society which can be really the economic centre which can organise the planning for the whole community. We see how the economic organisation can allow for the production of all necessary things.

If we have a group working, in an organisation of 25,000 persons there will be specialists such as engineers etc. In our old organisation we had irrigation projects. The irrigation method guaranteed a certain amount of fertility to the soil. There was what was known as the double tank system. There is first a small tank. The small tank receives the water first. The water comes in with sediment and it precipitates more or less all the sediment in the first tank and then the clear water runs over to the bigger tank. The second tank is the one where the water is stored, and it is used for irrigating the fields through canals. The silt in the first tank becomes the property of certain farmers, who keep it fully dredged while taking out their own share of the deposited silt. The second tank does not get silted and therefore water accumulates there to a large extent. Here is both service and self-interest jointly working together for the common good. We are rendering a service to the community by keeping the irrigation tank from getting silted over. That is nature's way of giving wages. Supposing there is a picnic. The members eat and throw away the crumbs. Half a dozen crows come and eat them away and keep the place clean. There is "work and wages" connected with it. Ants come and eat the sugar that is spilt over. Our old organisation was based on the system where money wages were not given separately. These are the principles on which we should re-build

our society. We should study the conditions and the advantages in that civilisation we had enjoyed once. We are becoming more and more barbarians.

In our re-organised society we want to introduce those social principles. If we want water to run in one direction, all that we have to do is to see that the level of the flow of water is regulated. We have got to arrange our social order in such a way that every one while working for his own interest works also for Society. Our Panchayats should really be trained for general service. There may be one Panchayat for a group of 20 or 30 villages. We take the villagers at the Tahsil level, then advance to the District level and then to the Provincial level and then to the Central level. Only then can we developе a national government. Men trained in running their own affairs will proceed, according to their qualifications further and further until they reach the top. We had ancient kingdoms run on these lines. We should read history in this light and not memorize dates and other details. We must study these things and translate them into action in our lives.

Our needs will not be properly attended to until we galvanise the necessary talent and bring it to bear on the needs of the whole nation. That is our general picture of the outline plan of the villages, and a conception of how we want the economic, the social and the national organisation to be built up based on the character of the people on the basis of service and a sense of duty, moving towards the progressive attainment of non-violence and truth in human society.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

In the preceding chapters we have seen that the objective of all human activity is not merely on the material level but has an enormous bearing on our social order and culture through the development of individual personality. We work towards bringing into being a civilisation that will not depend on the exploitation of our fellowmen and at that cost afford a high standard of material living to a few. If the Gandhian ideology prevails it should result in a fairly even standard of material comforts for every body and bring about a type of civilization where there will be no need for periodic wars as at present.

Let us hope that the day will soon dawn that Tolstoy was looking forward to when the people, weary of all the meaningless misery and bloodshed, will say to their leaders, "Go from us, put on the bloody uniforms yourselves and kill your own kind. —It matters not to us whether we are considered a great or small people: all that matters to us is that we should enjoy, undisturbed, the fruits of our toil— and all peace loving people should be permitted to develop their lives in mutual harmony and understanding."

This is not an impossible "heaven on earth" that we are seeking. Humanity is being driven by force of circumstances towards self-sufficiency in food and primary needs. If this tendency is resisted persistently the other alternative is the wiping out of the human race by competitive armament and progressive destruction and annihilation of one nation by another. Will man have the foresight to choose the right path?

The way indicated by Gandhiji is not one which only the few great persons can follow. It is so simple that the humblest citizen amongst us can adopt. It consists in leading our own individual lives according to the dictates of that which is highest in us. It, of course, means self-control and self-discipline instead of self-indulgence as at present. We have to set up a code of action or a standard of values based on social, moral and spiritual considerations. This will be the only way that can usher in Ram Rajya for all people and bring peace and true prosperity for every individual.

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